

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is; but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is not, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are misled, as I was a year ago, in supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community. It seems to me now to be no more the organ of that body than though the O. C. had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, and find it, among all the Socialistic organs, without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The hard times crowd us all. Now and then an able-bodied man sends us a dollar and apologizes for not sending two by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks. On the other hand, our annual receipts do not thus far half pay for the bare cost of paper and printing, to say nothing of editorial labor. At the same time many of our subscribers are wealthy and sometimes send us more than the price of the paper. These circumstances have suggested the following plan for equalizing burdens all round: Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription send it to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would have the SOCIALIST sent, and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume. That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack.

PUBLISHERS' CAVEAT.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST will in the future, as in the past, publish all well-written accounts of new Communistic and Coöperative Societies which may be offered in good faith; but it should be clearly understood that its conductors disclaim all responsibility for the character or success of such Societies. They consider that they perform their duty if they exclude schemes which are manifestly hair-brained or fraudulent and continue to set forth, as opportunity offers, the principles which seem to them to lie at the foundation of successful Socialism.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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SOCIALISTIC NOTES.

The *Revue Icarienne* reports improved prospects for the majority branch of the Icarian Community, in consequence of the sale of 112 acres of land for \$1,800, and the securing of a loan of \$2,500 payable in five years at 8½ per cent. interest.

A writer in the *New York Gazette* says: "Education, temperance and Coöperation, but the greatest of these is Coöperation, as with that comes more equitable distribution, comfort and self-respect, from which will naturally result education, temperance, and other ethical and esthetical refinements."

George Jacob Holyoake says in his "History of Coöperation": "Husbands who never knew what it was to be out of debt, and poor wives who during forty years never had a sixpence uncondemned in their pockets, now possess little stores of money sufficient to build them cottages, and go every week into their own market with money jingling in their pockets."

According to the *Railway World*, nearly 400,000 persons are employed on the railroads in the United States, and five times that many depend upon the roads for support. It is also estimated that between \$300,000,000 and \$400,000,000 are annually paid to employees, and to persons who furnish the companies with supplies of various kinds. This vast business has sprung up in the life-time of one generation.

There has been some freedom among the Shakers for the past few years to procure photographs of their villages, buildings and prominent members; but the last *Shaker Manifesto* has a short article against the use of the Society's funds for such purpose, because it is considered to be in contravention of the sacred consecration they have made, and as "militating against that harmony, meekness, love and fraternal equality which characterize the true members of the Church of Christ."

Le Devoir, in giving an account of a recent festival at M. Godin's Familistère at Guise, has a word to say about the facilities afforded by that establishment for amusements that should apply to every form of the enlarged home: "Thanks to the ease with which the inhabitants of the Familistère can provide for themselves, without leaving their own home, healthy and decorous amusements, can become better acquainted, learn to esteem each other more, to draw closer together, to constitute, little by little, as it were, one great family. They feel how much more intense the pleasure of every one becomes by being shared by all, while, by the assistance they mutually give to each other in the preparations for the festival, they demonstrate to themselves how much more effectual and profitable collective efforts are than individual."

The article on "Brook Farm," copied into a recent number of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST from the *Irish World*, was wrong in its statement that Curtis, Dana and Margaret Fuller were editors of the *Harbinger*. The indexes of the several volumes of that journal give credit to Curtis for less than a dozen articles, while the authorship of not a single original article is ascribed to Margaret Fuller. Dana, next to John S. Dwight and George Ripley, was the most prolific of its many writers. We have always supposed that Ripley, Dwight and Dana were the editors of the five volumes published at Brook Farm, Mr. Ripley being chief, though the *Harbinger* itself does not make any such distinction. When the publication office was removed to New York City, where the paper was published from Nov. 6, 1847, to Feb. 10, 1849, Parke Godwin was installed as its responsible editor.

The promised strike at Fall River, Massachusetts, has taken place with the spinners, and threatens to include the weavers also. The strikers base their claim, of fifteen per cent. advance in wages, on the fact that since 1873 their wages have been cut down forty per cent., which reduction has been submitted to because all the companies suffered large losses on account of the hard times; but now that times have improved and the companies are making some profit the laborers naturally desire to share this profit, and especially as they were promised a restoration of fifteen per cent. in their wages, upon submitting to the reduction last year, whenever times improved so as to warrant it. The companies, on their part, declare that though there is an improved market for their goods they have been losing money for some time and are not yet justified in granting the demand of the laborers; besides, they say, "We cannot be dictated to by trades-unions. If we yield once, we put ourselves at their mercy."

WHAT IS, AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

XX.

COMMUNISM. (Continued.)

Many readers of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST have, no doubt, acquired a tolerably fair idea of the general character of Communistic life, using that term in its American sense. They will have in their minds the picture of an American Community, the outlines of which will be somewhat like this: Large dwellings, occupied by several hundred persons, men, women and children, who are organized as one great family. The most capable men are appointed to superintend the various businesses, one having the responsibility of conducting the farm, another the vegetable garden and orchards, a third the machine-shop, a fourth the grist-mill, and so on. In like manner, the women of good judgment alternate in the management of the household affairs. All the members labor industriously for several hours each day, but every one has leisure for reading, study and recreation. None are overworked. All are sober, quiet, peaceable and cleanly. Their buildings and grounds are models of neatness and order. There is among them no pauperism, no drunkenness, no crime. Their lives are far removed from the excesses and sensualities of the world. Their daily routine of duties and ordinances might be called somewhat monotonous and uneventful, but the Communists cultivate contentment and thankfulness for the blessings they enjoy. If the world points at them the finger of derision they heed it not, but plod patiently along in the path of their honest convictions, regarding neither the honor nor dishonor offered by the public opinion of people absorbed in the pursuit of riches. If their younger members are tempted to explore the world, to visit other lands and see strange sights, the elders, while striving to gratify them by approving, it may be, some short, safe and inexpensive trip, faithfully hold up before their minds the higher purposes to which their lives are devoted. Old and young cultivate industry, humility, temperance and frugality. In a word, the Communities will appear to be such homes and such society as would seem a heaven to men and women who have burned out their lives in the mad whirl of fashion and frivolity which the world calls pleasure. They may be considered dull and monotonous by comparison with life in the gay capitals, but they are free from all the grosser evils which there abound, and a degree of brotherly love reigns over all.

Such is, perhaps, the idea of Communistic society which our average reader has in mind, and we may gather from Mr. Hinds' book on "American Communities" that it is not very far wrong. But in trying to estimate the advantages and disadvantages of this new form of social and domestic life, we must not forget that Community-building is yet in its infancy. The few organizations of this kind which have outlived the vicissitudes of their early years and still stand as examples of unitary life, cannot be supposed to exhibit all the good features which the Communistic principle is capable of producing. The work of many generations will be required to perfect the system. The founders and leaders of these Communities have done more than could have been hoped for under the circumstances, and they are worthy of all honor. How many imperfections soever may be attributed to them, the Communities they have built have done much for the progress of the world by simply existing and demonstrating the possibility of large numbers of men and women living together in the spirit of peaceful agreement, working harmoniously through all the vexing details of human life. For having set this example, the pioneers in Communism will surely be entitled to a large place in history. But they have done much more than this. They have marked out the true solution of problems relating to health, associative life, the control of population, etc., which the world will require a century yet to master.

There are reasons why existing Communities are but imperfect examples of what might be. Springing up in the midst of an old system which is hostile to them, they are, and have always been, surrounded by customs,

and institutions which are unfavorable to their best development. We have often pointed out that the successful Communities are those founded on a positive religion of their own. They have also been forced to adopt a system of morality differing from that of the world. Selfishness has had to be put down, and the assertion of legal rights has been forced to give place to that charity which endureth all things. Religion has been practically applied to the details of life. Sabbath services of an hour or two were not enough. It will be seen that to assemble a company of men and women from the ordinary walks of life, educated in the old ways, and teach them to live up to these new principles, has not been an easy task. The fashions and temptations of the world have been constantly pressing in upon the Communists and exerting a hostile influence upon the life they wished to lead. While holding everything in common amongst themselves, they have been obliged to compete in business with those outside who would have devoured their substance rapidly if they had relaxed one whit of the vigilance and shrewdness demanded in trade. As the Communities grew by the acquisition of new members, the older members, and especially the leaders, have been obliged to labor and exhort, in season and out of season, to assimilate the new material thus taken in. It has been necessary, also, to convert the children as they grew up, and teach them to understand the evils from which their parents had fled, and the faith upon which they fastened their hopes for the future life. All this has been a serious work. It could never have been done without an intense earnestness of purpose, and the best men have been barely able to accomplish it. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Communists are marked by a certain reserve of manner and of spirit. It has even been noticed that their countenances have a peculiar expression by which they have been identified by total strangers. These are signs of the struggle these people have undergone in their self-conquest and resistance to the influences and temptations which beset them. Neither is it matter of surprise, that, surrounded by hostile environments, and having to strive earnestly for existence, the Communists should in some cases have taken on a certain degree of asceticism. It was almost inevitable. Feeling the necessity of a more complete separation from the world and its ways, they have adopted some distinctive form of dress and such ordinances as would cut across the customs and fashions which troubled them. It has resulted from this that there is a certain severity and strictness of life in nearly all the existing Communities which it is probable would disappear if Communism were the customary order of society.

To get an idea of the full advantages of Communism we must cut loose from the present and project our thoughts into the future. We can look forward to a time when the world shall have progressed through a long experience in Coöperation, that system having at length entirely vanquished and superseded individual competition; when a large majority of the people shall have chosen to combine and live in associative homes; when many such homes shall have adopted complete Communism, so that the country is dotted from Maine to California, with happy and prosperous Communities. In that glad day Communists will be found to have cast off their reserve and asceticism. They will sing and dance with the merriest. It will then have become so easy and natural to lead pure and temperate lives that grace and pleasantness will take the place of severity. The arts and music will be freely cultivated. To travel will be easy and natural, for those who desire to do so will only need to go from one large home to another, resting always with Community brothers and sisters. For I opine that in the good time coming the various Communities will not stand aloof from each other as at present. There will be Communism between Communities, as well as between individuals of a single Community.

Just imagine for a moment how completely such a state of things would end the troubles between labor and capital. Those who produced an abundance would share with those who lacked. There would be no great accumulations lying idle, rusting or rotting for want of use. It is known that if every person labored and no idle accumulations were made, no one would be obliged to work more than two or three hours per day in order to produce everything necessary to our present high standard of living. The remainder of the time usually spent in work could be devoted to self-culture and healthy amusements. Would not the toiling and sweating millions consider that a millennium? Nothing stands in the way of their enjoying the leisure I have described except selfishness and ignorant prejudice.

In all the arguments we have put forth on the subject of Communism in this paper we have dwelt strongly on the fact that the successful Communities, almost without exception, have been founded on a religious basis. Attempts to organize without reference to religious unity have been numerous, but they have been failures. It is evident that people who are to live together intimately must have some strong sentiment or principle in common as a basis of agreement. It is not enough that they agree to hold their property in common and divide their earnings equally. The inherent selfishness of human nature crops out after a time and destroys the home unless there is a higher sentiment which all respect and obey and to which all can appeal. Practically there are very few people who prove entirely agreeable to one another on close acquaintance. There are angularities, eccentricities, diseases, and a multitude of unpleasant habits which are not observable in casual contact. In the close association of Communism these things prove irritating and eventually produce strong antipathies in people who have assembled merely to have an easy and comfortable time. Instead of comfort they find discomfort, and the irritableness engendered so magnifies the evils that at length they seem unendurable and a split occurs. The successful Communities have overcome all such difficulties by reason of a common religion which enabled the members to look beneath one another's exterior traits to hearts that beat with a unitary purpose. Where that purpose was wanting there have been secessions, but the Communities have remained; and they have been schools in which disagreeable points of character or of person were improved. Christianity has taught the Communists to bear with one another and not be irritable. I know of no other influence which will accomplish the same results. The rich, gifted and cultured will not voluntarily live with the poor, ignorant and uncultured unless a strong religious afflatus, or something equally powerful, shall take possession of both classes and draw their hearts together by its unitary influence. But I can imagine an eminently rich man, highly educated and refined, and another poor and needy and ill-trained, who should both become so imbued and controlled by the spirit and life of Jesus Christ that they might, by virtue of that common life and love, become to each other more than brothers born of the same mother. What the rich man had would be equally at the service of his poor fellow-servant. There would be Communism between them. The same influence might melt together into intimate brotherhood large numbers of people. This is our expectation of the way Communism will make the conquest of the world.

(To be Continued.)

THE BOSTON CO-OPERATIVE STORE.

JOSIAH QUINCY'S ADDRESS TO THE SHAREHOLDERS.

Gentlemen of the Boston Coöperative Store: I congratulate you on the position of our enterprise. Our capital stock has been all paid in, and our store opened. The number of customers who are not members has far exceeded our expectations, and it only needs that the members should patronize their own store to render our success certain, which will give them unadulterated goods at fair prices and a quarterly dividend on the amounts of their purchases, and will also tend to introduce in this country a system that has conferred great blessings on hundreds of thousands of workingmen in England, making up in some degree for diminished wages by a reduction in the cost of living. Changes in the usual modes of business require time for their development. They must commence in a moderate and safe way, and prove by their results the excellence of the system that has been adopted. The object of your directors has been to consult the strictest economy. Their labors are all gratuitous, no officer (except the treasurer) receiving any compensation. They hired a cheap store, obtained excellent salesmen at moderate wages, have paid for every article in cash at the lowest wholesale prices, and are confident, if sustained by the shareholders, of making satisfactory dividends.

The system originated, as is well known, with a few poor weavers in Birmingham. Their whole capital did not amount to \$150. The associations that have resulted from their example in England are now numbered by thousands, the members by hundreds of thousands, and the amount of their annual sales by over one hundred millions. The great success of these associations led to the establishment of what, in England, are known as civil-service stores. These adopted

THE ROCHDALE PLAN

in obtaining a capital by the union of many, and dealing

only for cash. From a small beginning they have attained gigantic proportions. People of wealth have become shareholders, and the shares have been of so great value that it is almost impossible to obtain them at any price. They filled vast storehouses with goods of every description, which they sold at cost to their members, thus underselling all the regular dealers. These became greatly excited. Old established houses that had supported families for a century, and who calculated on the profits of their custom, as a regular source of income, found themselves deserted. The question got into politics, and seats in Parliament were lost or gained as the candidates favored or repudiated this mode of coöperation. By the Rochdale plan, which we have adopted, a capital is procured by the small contributions of a large number of shareholders. They purchase with and sell for cash, at as low a price as is consistent with a fair profit. If they are undersold, the conclusion must be that the sellers furnish cheap, adulterated goods, or that they do business for nothing. Every purchaser at the store receives a certificate of the amount of his purchases. The books are closed every quarter, and a dividend paid of the profits of the purchases of every purchaser, the members receiving the whole, and non-members one-half of the amount. The purchasers besides receive six per cent. on their shares per annum, as well as the dividend, which in England has generally amounted to ten per cent. on the purchases. The profits of the shareholders in the two systems are ultimately about the same; the one receiving it in an immediate reduction of prices, the other in shape of a dividend. The Rochdale plan requires less capital and runs less risk from the deterioration or fall in value of the large amount of goods that the other keeps on hand. The object of the civil service is merely to make money go further, to cheapen commodities, and can hardly be called coöperation. The savings being individually small lead to additional expenditure, and have

NO TENDENCY TO ENCOURAGE ACCUMULATION.

It is claimed for the civil-service stores that they possess an advantage in furnishing articles of every description. The Rochdale plan can give the same advantage, if the capital is sufficient and the risks taken of holding unsalable goods; but there is a safer way. The members of your association now represent 500, and will soon, probably, represent 1,000 families. The united custom of these would be a great object to dealers. By dealing through the store, the purchaser can thus secure a commission. For instance, a milk dealer, to obtain the custom of such a store, will sell milk at the usual price of six cents, and agree, on presenting his bill at the store for payment, to receive but five, thus in fact giving the customer, through the store, a reduction of a cent a quart. A similar arrangement can be made with dealers in coal, provisions, boots and shoes, clothing, and, in fact, with retail dealers in all branches. As the association deals only for cash, it may be necessary to have a previous deposit, on which the directors would probably be willing to pay the same rate of interest that they receive on their deposits in the trust company. By making such deposits, a customer might also avoid the inconvenience of always sending cash for his purchases, and give his orders by a postal-card.

The Rochdale system teaches the power and advantage of coöperation by giving quarterly to a poor man a sum worth saving and investing. The best investment he can make will be in an additional share or shares in the coöperation, which are secure and yield six per cent. In this way his property will increase without extra labor or self-denial on his part, and habits of thrift be thus encouraged. By means of this he may become his own master, and, in company with others, intelligent like himself, raise a new order in society and ameliorate the condition of workingmen throughout the land. This is the ultimate object of coöperation. If, then, co-operative distribution can give such great benefits to the whole community, and particularly to the industrial classes, the question is, How can its advantages be most effectively extended? The legislature at the last session authorized such associations to hold a capital of \$100,000. To enable the very poorest to avail themselves of its benefits, it is proposed to

ADOPT THE ENGLISH CUSTOM,

to allow any one, on depositing a small sum, say 25 or 50 cents, to have the full dividends on his purchases, which are carried to his credit, but not paid until they amount to \$4, when a share is issued. The Boston Co-operative Store is now in a position that enables it either to assist other stores, by acting as a purchaser for them, or by establishing branches. To establish a branch store, it would be necessary that four or five hundred

shares, at \$4 each, should be taken by a sufficient number of persons to insure a reasonable amount of custom. When established, the new shareholders would have the same profits as the old. Charitably-disposed persons can benefit the industrial classes, while benefiting themselves, by purchasing at these stores. Every purchase increases the profits, for the larger amount of goods sold the less per cent. of expense to the buyer, and the greater the per cent. of the dividends. The managers of factories in our large manufacturing towns, by aiding and encouraging the formation of such stores, will in a considerable degree compensate for the reduction of wages they have been compelled to make, by reducing the cost of the necessities of life.

Your organization has already produced much good. Applications for your by-laws have been received from all parts of the United States. Probably more than fifty stores have been, or soon will be, opened in consequence of your example, and this most comprehensive scheme of benevolence, resting on self-help and material assistance, become general throughout the land.

THE CLERICAL CRUSADE.

INTERVIEWS WITH PROFESSOR MEARS AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS.

[From the New York World of June 29th.]

ONEIDA, June 27.—Writing from here nearly a year ago to the *World*, when the early disbandment of the Oneida Community had been extensively predicted, I took occasion to say that a scandal about this Community was as necessary to a season's comfort in the five valleys between Rome and Syracuse as is an annual sea-serpent story to the comfort of Nantucket. Internal strife has usually been the pivot upon which gossips have turned their stories, and the social features of the Perfectionist system have always been sufficiently misunderstood to give free play to the boldest imagination. Those who live within driving distance of the Community, their neighbors who know them best, strange to say, never start the charming stories that are told about them. So far from that, indeed, the stories on the occasion of scandal, have up to this time originated from twenty-five to forty miles away, and have been rolled homeward after the fashion of a snowball, gaining a little at every turn. Among the people of this village, which is only three miles away from the estate of the Community, the followers of Mr. Noyes are reputed to be sober, industrious, thriving, social and order loving. There is no recorded nor reputed instance in which they were ever meddlesome, disrespectful or turbulent. Of the thousands of visitors to their buildings not one has ever been able to say that the utmost courtesy and good-will have not always been extended to strangers as well as friends, nor in any other respect has exception ever been taken to the manner or extent of their hospitality. Their mode of living has never been a secret, and the readiness with which they speak of the details of their system, taken with their honest, straightforward, common-sense behavior in matters not so distinctively theirs, evinces at least a degree of sincerity which should entitle them to a patient hearing rather than to ridicule or abuse. There will be time enough for the latter when the former is over.

[Here follows a condensed history of the Clerical Crusade, which we omit, as our readers are already familiar with all the essential facts.—Eds. Am. Soc.]

Since this [the Crusade movement against the Community] really looked very much like business I called upon District-Attorney Smith, of Madison Co., who was here yesterday. He seemed surprised that he should not have been consulted if an arrest of Mr. Noyes was contemplated, because Mr. Noyes lives in his county. He had not even heard the grounds of a possible complaint, and was at a loss to know in what respect the Community could have offended according to law. He doubted if the circulation of alleged obscene literature five years ago would be an indictable offense under the circumstances in the eyes of a Madison County Grand Jury, and he had never heard of any cruel or brutal treatment on the part of the Community towards any of its members under any circumstances. Indeed, so far as he had observed, the Community not only violated no laws, but had always seemed desirous of obeying laws, and were industrious, frugal, hospitable, honest citizens. Yet, with a lawyer's way of covering the ground, Mr. Smith said it was possible a complaint might be made in Oneida County, as some of the Community property was within that county and the residence might be within 500 yards of the line, and hence in either jurisdiction. This was not so encouraging as it might have been, but I went down to Utica and saw District-Attorney Barnett.

"For the life of me," said he, "I don't see how they

can ever get a legal hold on those people. I have had occasion before this to think over the matter, and I can tell you they are planted as firm as a rock. People may theorize about them, you know, and it is easy enough to reason out that their social habits are wrong because they don't conform with ours—that is, with what we say ours are—but if indictments could be procured on the ground of general immorality, who wouldn't be liable? I don't believe they can ever be indicted, for their belief, in this State. What the United States Court might do, I don't know. A charge of circulation of obscene literature would naturally go to it. Not a word has been said to me about prosecuting them or about an arrest. I feel safe to predict that none will occur. They are good citizens, mind their business, have the respect of their neighbors and the confidence of their customers all over the country, own a large property and valuable industries, furnish employment to hundreds of people at good wages, and are altogether too serviceable to warrant either county in doing anything to risk their displeasure without very good cause."

There was nothing left after this but to go to Professor Mears. "Yes sir," he said with a great deal of emphasis for so quiet-spoken a man, as I afterwards discovered; "we have decided upon something definite; our plans are all laid."

"And will be executed when?" I asked.

"Well, that I can't say; I don't know what individual members may do, and as to the Conference I can't say. The fact is, if we dissolve and cease, its progress may be embarrassed. As soon as we do anything the public will hear of it; until then we prefer to say nothing."

"Have you consulted lawyers?"

"Yes."

"And they have advised you?"

"Well, what they may have said to individual members I don't know, and if they said anything to the convention I can't say. I doubt if we do much at the law. I rather think it would be difficult to do much at present by the law."

"But your plans are fully laid?"

"We have definite plans, yes. We shall begin with moral measures. You know if a farmer sees boys in his apple-trees he first asks them to get down;" and Professor Mears went on from this to cite the various modes of persuasion a farmer is supposed to use upon boys whom he wishes to get down from his trees, from a courteous request to an energetic delivery of pebbles. "That's about our plan," he continued. "We mean to make a great moral effort, and finally, if all other means fail, we shall resort to the law."

"Has the moral effort begun?"

"Well, it is in progress."

"Of course then you have consulted the Community; you mean to persuade them?"

Professor Mears repeated his stereotyped reply about his ignorance of individual action, which led me to ask him if the movement was not organized.

"Oh yes, oh yes," he said quickly, "our plans are definitely laid, I assure you. The committee has the matter in charge. I don't know whether or not Bishop Huntington has communicated with the Community. Perhaps he has; he has a right to do as he likes, and whatever he does is perfectly proper. I have not communicated with the Community, and I don't know that I shall; I don't know that our plans demand a conference with them. Yet if Bishop Huntington sees fit to communicate with them it will be perfectly proper."

"Do you mean that the committee does not work in concert?"

"No, I don't mean to say that, but an individual member of the committee may in his own discretion act independently; of course the committee is not responsible for what he does, but in this work he is not apt to go far astray. I am not at liberty to specify our plans for this moral effort, but they are definite, and we believe they will be effective."

"Did your committee or any member of it or agents acting with your approval attempt to have a special bill pass the Legislature at the last session, the effect of which would be to correct the evil you complain of?"

I had heard reliably that such an effort had been made by clergymen or their agents, and that the Assemblymen to whom the bill was taken had asked the applicants why they didn't present the bill through members from Oneida or Madison County, to which reply was made that it was useless to broach such a distasteful subject to them.

"Well, if they did," was Professor Mears' reply, "they are to be commended for it; I didn't do it."

"In case you should resort to the law," I continued,

"do you suppose you could procure an indictment under existing statutes? Do you think they violate the law?"

"Think? I know they do. Adultery is not punishable, but they are guilty of that, for some of them are married. To be sure, they don't keep a disorderly place, but it is as bad as though they did; perhaps we couldn't procure an indictment on that. But how about incest? I rather think they could be punished for that. But, then, it would not be necessary to bring a criminal suit. In the Beecher trial it was a civil suit brought by Mr. Tilton. Any person could bring suit against them—any person who was aggrieved. There are plenty of such, you know. Then witnesses could be found to sustain the charge. It would be very easy to have a suit with them in that way."

"Have you any such persons in your mind?"

"Well, it would be an easy matter to find them, you know; any person could bring the suit, then, besides, they are liable for circulating obscene literature."

"Have you been collecting testimony?"

"Well, I should say I had; I have a stack of it so high (spreading his hands apart about five inches); it is disgraceful—horrible. That is all I have—their own publications—but they are bad enough to condemn them."

"Do you mean to say they still circulate them?"

"I had no difficulty in getting mine. They say they have ceased to circulate them, but that is the only assurance I have that they don't. They have such singular notions about other things that I don't know why I may not safely doubt their veracity."

"Have you submitted your case yet before any one in authority?"

"That is a question I am not at liberty to answer."

"You can tell if an arrest is likely to occur?"

"I don't know that I can tell; wait a few days."

"If there is an arrest or suit how many will be proceeded against, and who, if only a few?"

"I will write precisely what I have to say, and that is all I want said from me," upon which Professor Mears wrote: "The precise nature and condition of the movement against the Oneida Community, by the committee authorized at the meeting of February and enlarged in June, is not made public as yet. The statements which have appeared in the Syracuse papers are totally without authority from the committee. The matter is disagreeable enough at any rate, and the committee is not disposed to thrust it prematurely upon the public. They are moving cautiously, and propose for the present to rely upon moral measures which they hope will prove effective. It is believed that these will in a few weeks if not days be laid before the public. Bishop Huntington, Professor Mears, Bishop Peck of the M. E. Church, and other members of the committee are greatly encouraged by the present aspect of the case, but an evil of such long continuance may not be eradicated as soon as the more enthusiastic and sanguine may perhaps expect."

"You write that the newspaper reports were unauthorized, but were they not mainly correct?" I asked Professor Mears as he walked away to hear one of the young Hamilton orators speak his Commencement part.

"Why, how could they have been correct?" he replied, a trifle petulantly, moving away; "they wouldn't be accepted as literal reports by the convention; no, sir."

[Here follows an account of the reporter's visit to the Community, which is omitted for want of space.—Eds. Am. Soc.]

I am informed by a gentleman who assures me that he cannot be mistaken that the moral effort contemplated by the clergy is a request to the various Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the State to pass resolutions condemnatory of the social system of the Community. Since the system is held to be based upon Bible teachings, the effort, if this is it, evidences, people up this way seem to think, rather more zeal than wisdom or discretion.

United States District-Attorney Townsend, of Troy, before whom a complaint might be made on the ground of circulating objectionable literature, is away from home this week, but his brother, who is his office companion, assures me that there has been no complaint and that he would be likely to know if his brother had been consulted about the matter. He is quite certain there has been no consultation. That exhausts the list of authorities who would be empowered by law to conduct a criminal prosecution against the Community.

In the tenth annual report of the Massachusetts Board of Health now published, Dr. Henry P. Bowditch returns to the important subject of the growth of children as observed

in the public schools of Boston; and recalling the fact deduced from his discussion in this eighth report, that "children of American parentage are taller and heavier than children of the same age of Irish parentage, narrates the result of an attempt to discover whether easier circumstances or race should be considered the more important factor." To this end the statistics were tabulated for each nationality according to the occupation of the parents. From this it appears that "in general the children of the professional and mercantile classes are larger than those of the laboring classes," especially in the case of Americans; but generally, also, this difference is not so great as that between American and Irish children of the same social class. So far the stock seems of more importance than the mode of life, but Dr. Bowditch gives reasons for thinking that in the Boston community the latter factor "is at least equal to, and possibly even greater than, that of race."

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1879.

A GRADED ASSOCIATION.

One of the two annual festivals of the Familistère of Guise—the Festival of Labor—was celebrated on the first Sunday of May; when M. Godin took occasion, in an address, to unfold his ultimate plan respecting the institution of which he was the founder, and has been, up to the present moment, chief manager.

Heretofore, the Familistère, as we understand its history, though possessing many associative features, could not be truly called an Association, inasmuch as its inhabitants, in an important sense, sustained to M. Godin the relation of operatives to an employer; but other and improved relations were contemplated from the first; and on the occasion referred to M. Godin presented to the inhabitants of the Familistère his plan and the Articles of Association.* As this event marks an important stage in the history of one of the most interesting social experiments of the day, we shall be doing our readers a favor in laying before them a brief statement of M. Godin's plan, which we condense from a translation in the *Coöperative News*.

The Association is to be called, "The Society of the Familistère of Guise—a Coöperative Association of Capital and of Labor."

Its objects are to form of the Familistère a social institution; "to carry on commercially its shops and stores, to work socially and industrially the factories and foundries" of M. Godin both in France and Belgium.

The Association is to be composed of the Founder; Associates; Partners; Investors; Auxiliaries.

An Associate is to be "(1) not less than twenty-one years old; (2) to have resided for not less than five years in the precincts of the Familistère; (3) to have during that time taken part in the work and operations of the Association; (4) to be able to read and write; (5) to hold in the capital of the Society not less than a share of at least £20; (6) to have been admitted by the assembly of Associates."

The rights and privileges of Associate members are given in Article 13:

"Associates (1) when work is deficient have the right of employment in preference to the other members of the Association; (2) they participate in profits as provided by articles 143 to 155; (3) they form the general meetings and have the right of voting at them; (4) they enjoy the special advantages of living in the Familistère; (5) they and their families during their lives have a right to all the guarantees provided by the protective institutions provided there in favor of the inhabitants, from the social habitation conformably to its regulations, with the right of attending and voting at the general meetings."

The second class of members—Partners—must "have worked in the service of the Association for not less than a year, and be admitted by the Administrative Council among the number of partners." The Partners, next to the Associates, stand the best chances of employment in case of slackness of orders or failure of a full supply of work.

The third class, or Investors, are non-resident partners, who have put capital into the institution.

The fourth class, or the Auxiliaries, are simply employés; but they enjoy, in addition to their wages, the advantages of the provident institution common to all the members of the Association, to the support of which they have to contribute; and when they have fulfilled the required condition of time they are eligible to the higher grade of membership.

The Administrative Council of course consists of M. Godin and such Associates as may be selected to serve with him.

As to the profits in which the Associate members participate, the articles relating to them are not given in the account before us, nor in *Le Devoir*. This and other particulars were doubtless fully elaborated; but the main points which we are able to discover in the new plan, from the Articles and that part of the Address given, is that M. Godin contemplates a graded Association, including several classes, from common laborers to full associates, with privileges and benefits corresponding to the different classes, and with provisions for each lower class to rise into a higher class.

To appreciate what has been accomplished by M. Godin and what is contemplated in his plan, we must consider what would have been the probable conditions of the persons composing the Familistère but for his enterprise. If the comparison turns toward ideal Communism, or possibly toward some forms of practical Communism which exist, M. Godin's experiment might appear to have many imperfections; but as an effort to harmonize Labor and Capital, and to give to laborers comforts and luxuries that are generally enjoyed only by the rich, it is a marvelous success, and should stimulate similar experiments on the part of capitalists everywhere. Of the results thus far secured at Guise, we will let M. Godin himself speak:

"In this Social Palace, where I dwell with you, the things which are of common utility are accessible to all. Everyone may profit by them in equal degree. Moreover, they are easily watched over. To begin with the education and instruction of infancy. The nursery, the children's gardens, the schools, all are close to the dwelling-place of the parents. All the pupils in the classes receive the same care and the same instruction, so that there is not an illiterate person in the generation growing up at the Familistère. No doubt there are among our infantile population scholars of various degrees of capabilities and progress, but the least advanced can read, write and cypher. And it may be observed that when circumstances call the children of the Familistère away from us to the army or elsewhere, they generally are able to obtain advantageous situations. The daily contact of the community of wants has developed among us the feeling of mutuality. The ease of meeting has allowed us to organize this mutuality in the facts of life. Thus the Familistère has its retirement fund, for securing pensions to those invalidated from work, and assistance to widows and orphans; the provident fund, for making allowances to the sick; the medical fund, for providing medicines during disease. Such were the first degrees of participation of profits, established in favor of the workers of all orders. For these different institutions have been founded by aid not only of your Coöperation, but also of a large financial contribution, levied as a first charge on the profits of the establishment. Thanks to these institutions, misery has vanished from our ranks. Everyone enjoys the ease of his own hearth, combined with the advantages belonging to a habitation where the conditions necessary for well-being and the pleasures of life are united."

But M. Godin, we are pleased to note, is fully cognizant of the fact that every institution which aims, like the Familistère, to improve the conditions of humanity, must depend for its success upon character, and that its advantages can only be realized by the industrious and self-denying. He says:

"Oh, I know well that these means of improvement and advance do not correspond either to the views or the tendencies of men who dream of an impossible ideal. They are not more satisfactory to those who are eager for enjoyment. The work of the Familistère cannot be comprehended by persons preoccupied exclusively with their personal gratification. The man, for instance, who makes it a point of honor to distinguish himself among his equals by orgies and excesses which compromise his health and means of existence cannot have sympathy with a work of moralization. The man, who, not fallen so low, believes it is the part of true wisdom to be temperate, to be careful of health, and to know how to amass all of the enjoyments of life for himself without thinking of others, whose conception of duty is limited to a respect for the text of the codes, will comprehend neither the moral side nor the social advantages of the Association. Will the idea which has presided over the foundation of the Familistère be judged of more wisely and reasonably by one who, enlarging a little the sphere of his love for good, thinks that while working for himself he ought to do his utmost to assure a better social position for his family, without concerning himself with the position of others? The persons who entertain these different conceptions as to the duties of men in society ask themselves what personal advantages I have wished to realize by founding the Familistère, and what are those which I pursue now, in organizing an Association with my workmen. Circumscribed by the desire of good to themselves or their families, they cannot comprehend the thought which has animated me, or give their sympathy to a work which has as its object the happiness of all and the protection of each."

We judge that no very radical changes are contemplated in the practical life of the Familistère; its inhabitants have long enjoyed most of the advantages and insurances now guaranteed to them so definitely and fully; M. Godin, as we take it, has simply formulated the system which for a score of years he has been practically working out. Beginning as a capitalist and em-

ployer, he has steadily progressed in his relations to his workmen, until, at the expiration of thirty years, having in the meantime built for their use the Social Palace, he selects many of them as permanent associates, guaranteeing to them a certain ratio of the profits of all his manufacturing enterprises, and makes provision whereby all can enter into this higher relation to him: this is the great work which M. Godin has accomplished—a work which will cause his name to be remembered as one of the noblest pioneers in the Harmonization of Labor and Capital.

TOBACCO REFORM IN THE O. C.

TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO.

v.

We have to confess a mistake. It is not so great as the New York *Sun* makes in reporting that the men of the Community are just starting a reform; but we were mistaken in saying that it was only about a month after the inception of the movement, that is after the fast of April 3, 1853, that the whole lot stood up free. We were led into this error by the uncertain recollection of some concerned, and by the circumstance that we found no allusion to the subject in our old files after the first of May; that is, so far as we searched. But the trouble was we did not search far enough. The better recollection of some with whom we talked after writing our first number set us to searching farther, and we find that it was not till the following December, or between eight and nine months after the fast, that the use of tobacco was entirely cleared out of the Community. The greater part, as nearly as we can ascertain (for we are warned to speak more cautiously now), quit before the first of May, but there were stragglers in several of the Communes till the beginning of the next winter. Then there was a revival of the subject, more Home-Talks, and another enthusiasm which swept the field.

Mr. Miller writes Dec. 23, 1853: "*Oneida uses no tobacco*. We wish this distinctly understood by the sister Communes." By search in contemporary files, we find that J. H. N. and Daniel Nash of the Brooklyn Commune got their discharge the first day of the same month; G. W. Hamilton and Seymour Nash of the Newark Commune the 18th, and Daniel Hall of the Putney Commune the 19th. Mr. Miller signs himself free on the 7th. How many or who were the subjects with him at O. C. of this second awakening we are not able to tell. Miss M., writing from O. C. to Brooklyn, Dec. 14th, says, "The whole family observed last Thursday as a fast, and since then those who had continued the use of tobacco have all quit except one, who says he has almost quit." That one, whoever it was, must have brought up the rear before the 23d, according to Mr. Miller's statement.

The following mention occurs in a letter from Brooklyn to Cambridge, Dec. 10th: "Others have written most of the news, I am afraid, but I hope I am the first to tell you one thing, that J. H. N. is growing his beard entire; and one more, that he and Mr. Nash have forsaken the wreck Tobacco! got off without any loss, to the great joy of all." In another familiar note from Newark, dated Dec. 27, we find the following: "You will be interested to learn that S. W. Nash and G. W. Hamilton have quit tobacco. They kept it secret for a week and divulged it last evening." Mr. Hall of Putney, though he must have been next to the last of the stragglers, appears to have been premature in his motions after all, or not to have waited, at least, for the desirable spontaneity. He writes Dec. 18th: "I am unfit for writing or anything else to-day on account of abstaining from tobacco. This is the first day I have done without it entirely, though I have been cutting the dog's tail off inch by inch for the last two weeks. This time it hit the quick, and I believe it is plenty short enough; however, if it don't grow out again I don't care."

The exciting cause of this second movement and thorough expurgation appears to have been a Home-Talk by J. H. N. Dec. 1st; but as this Talk is long enough for a chapter by itself, we reserve it for next week, and find a place in this for a paragraph from another Talk dated Jan. 20, 1854, in which the late Tobacco Reform was incidentally mentioned, and for the story of S. W. Nash, written for the *Circular*, as G. W. Noyes's was, in 1868.

"The gospel method of reform may be compared to the way men clear the land of forests in a new country. They might wish to cut the trees right down and burn them, but that would be an enormous job for anything like a farm, and they do not try to do it; they *girdle* the trees, cut away a belt of the bark on the trunk so as

to stop the circulation of the sap, and then leave them to die by a natural process of decay. The labor of girdling them is comparatively nothing, but it answers the purpose of destroying them. They dry and rot, and the wind blows them over. Now the doctrine that we are 'dead with Christ,' that our 'old man is crucified with him,' the belief and confession of that fact with reference, for instance, to any bad habit—girdles that habit. The belief and confession of that fact with reference to all the works of the flesh, to all that degrades the character, girdles the evil growth—makes an end of its vitality, cuts off its source of nourishment. Its life is stopped. We may not see any immediate change of a very marked character, but the tree is girdled and the process of decay has commenced. A tree is really *dead* when it is girdled; but it looks like a live tree for some time afterwards; it occupies the place of a live tree, stands there bodily for several years perhaps; still it is virtually dead, and every hour is hastening its fall. If you will look back you will see that is the way we handled the tobacco principality. It was last spring that we girdled it, and the wind blew it over this winter."

S. W. N.'S STORY.

I took my first quid of tobacco when I was about twelve years of age. It occurred on this wise. The gentleman with whom I lived, being an inveterate user of the "weed," always kept a liberal supply on hand. He and his family, being absent from home one day, left me alone to amuse myself as best I could. Among other diversions which presented themselves to me, by way of passing the time, was that of trying my grit at chewing tobacco. No sooner thought of than attempted; for I very naturally concluded, that if he and others derived so much pleasure from the use of it as they appeared to, I might do the same. So I helped myself to half a "plug"—bit off a quid, and commenced chewing it with a good deal of resolution, if not with a good relish. The result was just what I might have anticipated. The nausea which usually accompanies a first attempt of this sort was soon upon me, with all its horrors. My dreams of pleasure from *that* source, at least, were effectually dissipated, and I felt sure that I should never resort to it again.

I made no further attempts to use tobacco until my seventeenth year. I was then an apprentice to the blacksmithing business, in company with another young man two years older than myself, who was in the daily habit of smoking. Being constantly associated with him, witnessing the enjoyment he derived from it, and inhaling the fragrant odor of the tobacco fumes, I was finally induced to try smoking myself. I was not very eager at first, but the practice grew upon me, little by little, till I became a confirmed smoker.

In after years I made several attempts to abandon tobacco, but as often failed. I well remember one time after I became a Perfectionist, feeling some conscientious scruples about the habit I had formed, and by an effort of my will I resolved to quit it at once and forever. But I soon found I had "reckoned without my host," and that the tobacco principality was quite too strong for mere human will. After struggling against it for five weeks (during which time I hankered for my pipe incessantly and intensely—dreaming about it in my sleeping as well as my waking hours), I finally yielded the point and returned to my old ways. My apparently well-formed resolutions were dashed to the ground, and I was again a slave to my appetite. But this was not all. I right away found myself under the lash of a morbid conscience, for having broken my pledge. This state of things continued until for the time being I was made to believe I had committed the unpardonable sin, and was nearly overwhelmed with despair. This impression lasted for several weeks, but, under the influence of my naturally large hope, it gradually wore away and left me in a state of comparative peace and justification.

I did not make any further very serious efforts to get free from my bondage until some years afterward, when by a unanimous effort the Community abandoned the use of tobacco altogether. The whole strength of the Community having been brought to bear on this principality, made the transition from bondage to freedom comparatively easy. This gave me a new and lasting appreciation of the advantages of unity and organization. What I as an individual was wholly unable to do, when organized into the Community I could accomplish without an effort, and without one lingering, backward look. I have not tasted tobacco from that day to this, and have not wished to. To God be the glory.

Forty years ago the head of William Lloyd Garrison was in great demand at the South, and large sums were offered for it, Georgia bidding as high as \$5,000 dollars. It is an

interesting historical fact that a memorial service on the death of the great Abolitionist was held June 9th at Atlanta, presided over by Bishop Haven and participated in by the emancipated classes. The following is given as the substance of the resolutions passed: "From this State and Capital, where \$5,000 was offered for the head of the great philanthropist, we rejoice to make this declaration to all the land, and call upon all to praise and serve the God who led our Moses to conquer the Pharaoh of American slavery and to make his captives free. May He give us grace to continue till we achieve victory over every wrong in all our land, 'and brother shall to brother be, the wide earth o'er.'"

COMMUNITY ITEMS.

ONEIDA.

—The band plays half an hour at noon.

—The fruit-packers are at work on strawberries and peas and cherries.

—Mr. Warne took his school in two omnibuses to the Cascades to spend the day.

—Calls this week from reporters for New York Dailies. They want to see how we get along with our clerical brethren.

—The farmers are well into haying. They say the crop will be tolerably good, considering the dry weather during May.

—A visitor was heard to remark that he visited the Community twenty years ago, and he must say that we had "improved things awfully since then."

—An itinerant "Punch and Judy" show drove in at our gates on Monday afternoon, and furnished great amusement to the wondering children as well as to groups of adults who looked on.

—Our visitor, Mr. Ashton, true to the instinct to serve the public interest which controls every genuine Communist, is spending his time to the advantage of the Community in painting scenery for the stage.

—In these days of half hearing and swift reporting *address* would sound enough like *arrest* to start a nice Russian scandal. They say it was the confounding of those words which started the story of threatened arrest.

—We had some discussion in meeting the other evening about the toy pistols which have of late become quite popular among the children. It was thought that although the cartridges used in them contain but a few grains of powder there is some danger to the eyes from careless firing, and it was the general opinion that the love for dangerous implements is likely to be strong enough in boys without any unnecessary incitement in their sports. The children very heartily threw aside their pistols and turned to other amusements.

—Roses, roses. June has been a rosy month. There is still a great profusion of these beautiful flowers; Remontant, General Jacqueminot, Madame Leffay, Coquette des Alpes, Prince Albert and numerous other varieties have bloomed and are blooming in peerless splendor. But, alas! to match this redundancy comes an army of parasites, so aggressive and so multitudinous that, mingled with the exquisite fragrance of some favorite rose which sets going that mystic vibration of the tissues in the sensitive rose-lover, one is forced to inhale the offensive odor of whale-oil soap.

—"All in your eye" is an adage which holds a nugget of wisdom, for it is often true that what we look upon as particularly beautiful in the face, figure or character of others is something which we are ourselves conscious of lacking; and, *vice versa*, we are especially relentless and critical toward defects in others which in reality or fancy resemble our own. For example, the designing man is sure to suspect his neighbor of hidden motives for the simplest actions, and the woman of preg-nable virtue is the first to cast doubt on innocence. These reflections came to us while noticing the varied comments made by different individuals on the form and features of a distinguished visitor. Mildred, who is sensitive on the subject of noses, was impressed by the beauty of that organ in the physiognomy of the fair lady; Bertha who thinks the least said is a personal way about fair complexions the better, was ecstatic over the lovely commingling of rose and lily on the transparent cheek of the guest; Arolene, who considers her own eyes defective, especially admired her brilliant orbs which, like

"Stars in skies

Would keep a sinking ship fra wreck."

Howard, whose ears are more conspicuous than is desirable, spoke with marked emphasis of her shell-like auricles; and so it went. What *is* beauty? Who can fix the standard? Certain it is that mere external beauty does not make people attractive, and we know that some persons who seem plain at a distance often

become very charming in our eyes on taking the nearer view which one gets by growing acquaintance. There is a subtle power deeper than perfection of color or contour. Beauty without magnetism is like a flower without fragrance, and a Venus or Apollo becomes tiresome as a companion unless possessed of that incomprehensible nimbus which draws like the magnet.

TAKE CARE OF LOVE.

BY THOMAS MOORE.

Alas!—how light a cause may move
Dissension between hearts that love!
Hearts that the world in vain had tried,
And sorrow but more closely tied;
That stood the storm, when waves were rough,
Yet in a sunny hour fall off,
Like ships that have gone down at sea,
When heaven was all tranquillity!
A something, light as air—a look,
A word unkind or wrongly taken—
O love that tempests never shook,
A breath, a touch like this hath shaken.
And ruder words will soon rush in
To spread the breach that words begin;
And eyes forget the gentle ray
They wore in courtship's smiling day;
And voices lose the tone that shed
A tenderness round all they said;
Till fast declining, one by one,
The sweetnesses of love are gone,
And hearts, so lately mingled, seem
Like broken clouds, or like the stream,
That smiling left the mountain's brow
As though its waters ne'er could sever,
Yet, ere it reach the plain below,
Breaks into floods, that part forever.

O, you, that have the charge of Love,
Keep him in rosy bondage bound,
As in the Fields of Bliss above
He sits, with flow'rets fettered round;
Loose not a tie that round him clings,
Nor ever let him use his wings;
For ev'n an hour, a minute's flight
Will rob the plumes of half their light.
Like that celestial bird, whose nest
Is found beneath far Eastern skies,
Whose wings, though radiant when at rest,
Lose all their glory when he flies!

CORRESPONDENCE.

Bakersfield, Cal., June 6, 1879.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—Keep it before the people to eliminate competition, but the only way to exterminate it will be by prayer to so fill the world with holy spirits that God will be in the hearts of the multitude, and with one accord they will say, "Thy will, not mine, O Father, be done." The love of Christ must be increased to take the place of all other love ere we can hope for the reformation of the world.

Since writing the above I have received and read "What Is and What Will Be" in your 22d No. How I wish we could scatter thousands of that number and have them read. It is in my opinion the best article to help on the cause of Christ, especially among Spiritualists, that I have ever seen. I. B. RUMFORD.

New Bedford, Mass., June 9, 1879.

F. WAYLAND-SMITH:—

Dear Sir:—I have one favor to ask of you, and that is that you will publish your articles that are now appearing in the Socialist, on "What Is and What Might Be," in book form. They are the most elaborate and the most exhaustive articles that I ever read on the subject, and they are becoming more interesting every week to me, and I hope to the general body of your readers, as you approach our own day and date. If these articles were being published in the New York Sun, Times, Tribune, or Herald, we should hear their praises sung on every hand by crowds of workmen, who will not read the SOCIALIST, because it will not fill their mental stomachs full of murders, divorces, robberies, frauds, bank defalcations, etc. I have seen workingmen pleased and highly interested in the rapid-growing fortunes of our great speculators, when they themselves did not know where the next meal would come from for themselves and families. The fact is, that man has got such a low estimate of himself, and such an high estimate of wealth, that most reformers despair of their best efforts being crowned with success.

P. SIDEBOTHAM.

The journalist is truly a man who lays his ambition on the altar, and who immolates himself for the "good of the concern." Says the Nation: "It is established as well as anything can be established by experience that the power of the press is in exact ratio to the strictness with which the incognito of its writers is preserved. There is no more terrible moral engine in the world than reiterated anonymous attacks upon persons, institutions or classes, by a widely-read paper. But it is essential for the success of this sort of warfare that it should never be known who are the

authors of the attacks. It must always seem to be the loud, unanswerable voice of public opinion, and not that of some enterprising young journalist who has just graduated at Yale or Harvard. But this necessity is a most serious drawback to the press as a profession. A professional success in which there can be no gratification of ambition, no personal glory, holds out no very tempting bait. If lawyers and doctors were only admitted to practice on condition of their names and even identity remaining unknown, the professions of law and medicine would certainly not have the attractions they now possess. It is a very noticeable fact that with the growth of the press in this city in decency and sobriety the persons actually engaged in the editorial work upon them have withdrawn into retirement, and now avoid that parade of their names which formerly seemed to make the editor of a 'great daily' such an important person."

SOCIALISTIC MEMORIES.

II.

Robert Owen—Teachers and Friends of the Salford Co-operative School—its Educational Objects, etc.

Say what we will of Robert Owen's faults and failures—call him, if we choose, an impracticable visionary or worse—still we must admit that he was a man of noble impulses, and that he had in a remarkable degree the power of communicating them to others, so that they, like himself, were ready to devote their lives to the cause of social improvement. He began his career at New Lanark in the beginning of the present century, and his work of social evangelization more than fifty years ago, so that few of his early disciples remain; but whenever you are so fortunate as to meet one of them, though he may be nearing his three score and ten years, you are certain to find an enthusiastic Socialist, whose meat and drink it is to vent the zeal which has remained undimmed in his heart since he was baptized in the Socialistic revival of his early days. Mr. John W. Ashton, whose Socialistic memories we drew upon in our first article, is one of this sort. He never tires of his reminiscences of Robert Owen and the Salford Co-operative School, of which he was an early member.

We have already mentioned some of the teachers and friends of that school: we cannot name them all, but Mr. E. T. Craig must not be forgotten. He was among the earliest and most effective of its teachers, and an able speaker in behalf of the cause of Coöperation. He was soon called from the school by John Scott Vandaleur to take charge of his estate in Ireland. His steward had recently been murdered, and there was almost open war between the laborers and landlords in a considerable part of Ireland at that time; so that Mr. Craig's undertaking to carry on Mr. Vandaleur's estate on Coöperative principles was, in many respects, a difficult and even perilous enterprise. How well he succeeded is known to the readers of Mr. Craig's articles in the past volumes of the *SOCIALIST*, under the heading "Socialism in England."

Among other teachers not previously mentioned there were James Rigby, eloquent and active, who was the personal associate and companion of Owen in all his travels during the last twenty years of his life; James Lowe; George F. Mandley, and Joseph Caldwell, who, as teacher and contributor to the funds of the school, rendered great assistance. "It was especially through his presentation of the principles of Socialism and of the great changes they were destined to effect in society," says Mr. Ashton, "that I became converted to Socialism."

The schools established nearly fifty years ago by the Coöperators in England were not, it must be understood, schools for children merely; the evening schools were mainly for them; but the Sunday schools were especially for adults; and the teachers, who often came from a considerable distance, did not confine their instruction to lectures and common school-drill, but took their classes into the fields and discoursed upon botany, geology, etc., making use of the illustrations which existed everywhere around them.

Of course some financial aid was needed to keep the schools in successful operation, and this was obtained chiefly from a few generous-minded men of Manchester, such as Benjamin Heywood, the banker, who generally gave £5 when appealed to for any worthy object; John Potter, a wealthy manufacturer, afterward Mayor of the city; William Clegg; Mr. Horsefall; John Fielding; Mrs. Byron, and also Lady Byron, wife of Lord Byron; Mr. Morgan of London, author of "Revolt of the Bees" and "Hampden of the Nineteenth Century," sent a fine set of globes and other apparatus to the school at Salford. After the school had progressed awhile it accumulated means to defray its necessary expenses by selling publications, etc.

After a time lecturers were sent out every Saturday night into the towns around Manchester and Salford for a distance of forty or fifty miles. These lecturers soon became stationed as missionaries in these different places, and were chiefly influential in founding schools and social institutions similar to those in Manchester and Salford. In each place there appeared young men imbued with the zeal of propagandism, and so the good work soon spread from town to town and from city to city over a large part of England.

Owen and his followers have never had full credit for the impulse they gave to education in England. Not only was Owen the originator of the infant-school system, but he and his disciples started the movement which has given to the masses of the English people public parks and public libraries. Previous to their day there were no public parks or public libraries in England, save in a few of the largest cities. The Co-operators started out with the motto, "Public parks, public libraries, and shortened hours of labor." The hours of labor have been shortened, and public parks and public libraries for the masses are common all over England; and it is well known—has in fact been repeatedly acknowledged in Parliament—that for these things credit is chiefly due to Robert Owen and the Coöperators. In Manchester, for example, there are now five or six public libraries, but the first of them was established in the Hall of Science, which was built by the Coöperators. A public subscription was subsequently started for the purchase of the building and its presentation to the city for the purposes of a public library. The Coöperators, or Socialists, as they were frequently called, were at the bottom of the whole transaction.

Three public parks were presented to the city of Manchester in the same way; the land being first purchased, and then laid out in walks and drives and ornamented in various ways; each park costing £100,000. Manchester is a very wealthy city, and there were many firms who willingly gave £100 for so desirable an object.

It is indeed surprising how soon many of the objects which the English Socialists set before themselves at the outset were accomplished. The opposition of the clergy and press, bitter as it often was, only accelerated the movement. The more they opposed it the faster it grew.

The practical results attained by the Rochdale pioneers had much to do with this progress; beginning with the smallest means they advanced steadily, and to-day their credit stands as high as that of any banking-house in England. Their example has given birth to hundreds, yes thousands, of Coöperative institutions of different kinds in England alone, whose credit nearly always stands high, because they confine their transactions to cash, giving no credit, and therefore running little or no risk.

But wonderful as the progress of Coöperation has been in England, Mr. Ashton is firmly convinced that we are on the eve of as great progress in the higher forms of Socialism, which were distinctly foreseen by Owen and the enthusiasts who labored with him in the cause of social improvement half a century ago.

TRADES-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

[From Sunday Afternoon.]

From 1834 to 1842, but especially since the last epoch, trades-unions multiplied throughout the United Kingdom; and now they cover all England, are numerous in Scotland, and their branches extend even to Ireland. Of their numerical importance and pecuniary resources the following figures may give an idea:

Sixteen unions—mechanics, iron-founders, copper-smiths, builders of iron ships, builders of steam-engines, workers in iron, united carpenters, general union of carpenters, masons, Scotch society of masons, bricklayers of London, the same of Manchester, plasterers, tailors, shoemakers, typographical society of printers, iron-moulders—number 208,313 members, divided into 2,723 branches, with an annual income of 377,772 pounds sterling (\$1,888,860).

The National Association of Miners has a membership of 90,000 with an annual income of 6,757 pounds sterling (\$33,785). The union of workers in copper, whose several branches have recently been consolidated, has more than twenty thousand members, with funds amounting to more than 30,000 pounds (\$150,000). The Coach-Makers' Union has 8,000 members; workers in brass 5,500; cotton-spinners, 15,444; weavers by machinery, 16,600; cabinet-makers, 4,500; dyers, 2,300; men employed on railroads, 13,400. Ship-carpenters have formed trades-unions on the borders of the Thames,

the Mersey, the Weare, the Tees, the Clyde, and in all the principal ports of the United Kingdom.

The agricultural classes held aloof from this movement for a long time; but in 1872 they threw themselves into it with an ardor and impetuosity which seemed to prove their strong desire to make up for lost time. At this moment the agricultural laborers' union extends throughout the whole kingdom. It is divided into three great societies, which are themselves subdivided into 1,171 branches, with a grand total membership of 78,300, having an annual income of 28,055 pounds (\$140,275). Each of these has newspapers which circulate widely in the rural districts, and discuss not only questions concerning wages and hours of work but also political subjects, such as giving to workingmen the right of suffrage, distribution of seats in parliament, legal charities, and even the relation between church and state.

With a membership of at least 1,250,000, having control of annual revenues which cannot fall much short of \$10,000,000, with a reserved fund of almost equal importance, since for sixteen of them alone it amounts to about \$3,015,500; powerfully organized as they are, especially in the great cities—London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Dundee and Nottingham—the trades-unions evidently present a formidable array of converging and well-disciplined forces, invested with great power and susceptible of wielding large influence at the ballot-box, so that in case of need the unions would not make a vain appeal to the moral adhesion of those workingmen who were not members of these societies, even for financial coöperation.

WOMAN'S TOPICS.

Mrs. Mary Young, is the first woman lawyer admitted to the Supreme Court of California.

Ex-Empress Eugenie is said to be unable to sleep without opiates, and to be in a most critical condition.

Queen Victoria has knighted Henry Bessemer, who has told the world how to rapidly convert pig-iron into steel.

A daughter of Bayard Taylor is credited with the translation of "Masks and Faces," which has been successfully produced upon the German stage.

The New Haven County Medical Society has admitted a woman to membership—Miss Ann Ferris, a graduate of the Pennsylvania Woman's Medical College.

Rev. Olympia Brown has been unanimously commended by the members of her Church at Racine, Wis. They say their "present prosperity is largely due to her unselfish devotion to the cause of truth, her assiduous labors as pastor, and her preëminent abilities as preacher."

"St. Katharine's Nurses" is the name of a new order just instituted by Queen Victoria. Each nurse belonging to the order will receive \$250 a year in addition to the salary paid her by the institution to which she belongs, and she can wear for life the royal badge of the order.

A daughter of Cassius M. Clay says: "There is a growing feeling in favor of the enfranchisement of women in Kentucky, especially among the better classes, although no organizations have been made in the State. In Madison County, where I live, a local option law has done away with saloons and intemperance. This has been done, of course, with the assistance of the gentlemen, and ladies are always gallantly treated by Kentuckians. I believe that the question only needs to be agitated, and if gentlemen can only be persuaded to look at the question from Woman's point of view, they will see that the laws relating to Woman are unequal and unjust."

The following was a New Haven colony law in 1669: "Whosoever shall inveigle or draw the affections of any maide or maide-servant, either to himself or others, without first gaining the consent of her parents, shall pay to the plantation for the first offence 40s., the second £4, for the third shall be imprisoned or corporeously punished." An old record has just been found showing that under this law Jacobeth Murtine and Sarah Tuttle got into trouble by "setting down on a chestle together, his arme around her waiste, and her arme upon his shoulder or about his neck, and continuing in that sinful posture about half an hour, in which time he kyssed her and she kyssed him, or they kyssed one another, as ye witnesses testified."

The excited treasure-seekers of Leadville, the new mining city of Colorado, working up in the thin air and snow 10,000 feet above the sea, have to work with a repressed ardor. Any undue exertion in that attenuated atmosphere dampens a man at once, bringing on nose-bleed and all manner of conniptions. They hunt for the precious metal in this way: "The professional 'prospector' does not go digging about on mountain sides in an aimless way, hoping to make a strike, but he proceeds systematically, and in some degree scientifically. He searches up and down the gulches

for 'float' or detached pieces of ore that have been broken off and washed down to the stream. Having found 'float' of apparent richness, he takes careful note of the position in which it lies and the general contour of the ground in the vicinity, in order to determine the place from which it must have come. Then he goes up the hill to find the outcrop, and if successful does no more work upon it than is necessary to prove the value of the mine he has discovered."

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

Think of Jefferson D. as "an old hero?" Better not.

The late Prince Imperial didn't think to name any Napoleon V. in his will.

Ireland wants home rule and an Irish university, and she can't have either of them.

The International Literary Congress was chiefly remarkable for the noted authors who staid away.

Unitarian Harvard can pull harder in a boat-race than Trinitarian Yale. There is might in unity.

One day last week five hundred and ninety-one favored mortals took cabin passage in New York for Europe.

Sarah Bernhardt, the Franco-Jewish actress-sorceress, has announced her intention to come to this country next year or next.

If that Maryland girl and shootist proposes to lecture, some one should Duer the kindness to tell her that we don't want her.

Thora of Rimol, hide ye, hide ye!
Danger, death and shame betide thee,
For Olaf the King is hunting ye down
Through field and forest, through thorp and town.

DeWitt C. Talmage says his vacation in England is all one jubilee. He requires a magnifying glass to discern the lines between the different evangelical denominations.

The Sultan and his Government turn out at last to be a sort of Punch and Judy out there in the East. The Great Powers furnish the dialogue and keep the figures a bobbing.

It is some comfort to think that Weston, one of us "run-out Yankees," could out-tramp those foreign fellows who have not been impaired by our savage climate and Puritanism.

Now is the time for the New-Yorker to scoop up the vagrant dog, and send him to his death. Henry Bergh will see to it that your pet is happy as long as he is kept in "pound."

An attempt is again making in New York City to provide small suitable homes for women dependent on their own exertions, at low rates, and including entertainments, lectures and amusements.

The British Exchequer will derive a revenue of \$442,500 from the estate of Baron Rothschild. The probate duty is £13,500 on the first million and £15,000 for every million afterward.

Don't be surprised if your merchant doubles his price on silks, by and by. The European crop is short, and the Japan ditto. The Chinese, however, is abundant, but that is not used for the finest goods.

The New Yorkers just won't have the New York Central build an elevated railway from the Grand Central Depot to the City Hall. A little of that kind of conveyance carries them as far as they want to go.

The Bonapartes have to be written up now, and it comes to the light that they all and severally have taken precious care of themselves and died in their beds. Poor Lu was the only one of them who has died in the field with his boots on.

If you are organizing a company to "crack" a bank you will find it to your advantage to have one of your men in the police force. The robbers of the Manhattan Savings Institution had John Nugent, policeman, to carry away the "swag."

The Governor of New York has signed the bill making six per cent. the legal rate of interest—signed it because he thought something ought to be done in the matter, but not because he deemed it a particularly nice piece of legal composition.

Here is light from Russia. She has just raised a new loan of 300,000,000 roubles at 5½ per cent., and twice the amount called for was subscribed. This, after being pretty well spent in war with Turkey, and then tossed in a blanket by the Nihilist agitation.

About 800 blatant strikers at Fall River have managed by the well-known arts of mingled threats and wheedling to arrest the industry and incomes of 15,000 workmen and workingwomen. The loss to the strikers will not be less than \$100,000 a week.

Chili has sold out Patagonia to the Argentine Republic. Terms not known. Favorable to the Argentines no doubt, for the seller is in a strait. The area of the ceded country is about 350,000 square miles, sparsely inhabited by native giants, and no European settlements to speak of.

The Bonapartist leaders intend to maintain a party organization. Their senators and deputies have had a meeting and adopted a resolution declaring that, though the Prince Imperial is dead, his cause survives and the succession of the Napoleons has not lapsed, and that the Empire will live.

The Post-Office Department will in July extend the fast-mail service in the South over two routes. One route will be from Washington to Jacksonville, Fla., by way of Charleston and Savannah, and the other from Washington to New Orleans, by way of Richmond, Atlanta, Montgomery and Mobile.

Prince Napoleon, regular royal son of the old Jerome who married our Betsey and then put her away, is going to be the dog-in-the-manger to Bonapartism. He is heir to the pretensions of that family, but he doesn't propose to burden himself with them nor let his son, Victor Napoleon, do so. He is a pronounced Republican.

The French have been making some very successful experiments in plowing by electricity. According to M. Tresca, the reporter, the work accomplished was the equivalent of three horse-power, while one-half of the motive power obtained from the steam-engine was transferred to a distance of more than 3,000 feet from the furnace.

Mr. Blaine's recipe for recovering our hold on the ocean-carrying trade of the world is to have Congress subsidize American ship-owners, and thereby put them on a footing with the great commercial nations of Europe. This means that we as a people should pay more for our carriage of freight than we do now, and all for the sake of national pride and to have a body of sailors to draw from when we should want to man a great navy.

Alsace-Lorraine, after nine years of existence as a conquered dependency of the German Empire, though with representatives in the Parliament, has at last received a government of its own and become a member of the Confederation. It is to consent to a governor appointed by the Emperor, with ministers, two consuls, one local and the other imperial, also appointed by the Crown, and a legislature, elected by indirect popular suffrage.

It would make for peace to have a Congressional Committee investigate the South, not for political purposes, as has been the fashion all along, but to ascertain and report on the actual progress and improvement of the colored people since their emancipation. Independent observers, of high character, like Col. Higginson, Mr. Edward Atkinson and Mrs. Stowe, concur in maintaining that the negro population has made and is making remarkable progress.

Sir Garnet Wolesley goes to the Cape with a lot of telephones to use in military operations. He also takes out a stock of wisdom for that unhappy promontory. It is understood that he will not insist on Cetewayo disbanding his Zulus, but that he will endeavor to use the great chief as a breakwater against the horde of savages still farther back. The Zulu monarch is to be recognized as an independent potentate, though a Resident must be received to watch his foreign relations.

Mr. Christian Ross says of his loss: "While we have suffered beyond what any mortal can understand, yet we have the comfort to know that many a little fellow has been rescued from want and misery through the search for our Charlie, and we believe the public have reaped largely the benefit of the sacrifice we have made, for had I compounded the crime I feel certain we would have had our son long ago; but declining to do so, I have suffered and the public have been benefited, for I do not think a child will be taken soon again for a ransom."

Captain Eades comes forward with his plan for getting ships across the Isthmus of Darien. It is to lift them bodily from the sea, place them on an immense car, one at a time, and then trundle them from ocean to ocean on a ten-track railway at the rate of eight miles an hour. The road could be built in five years and much more cheaply than a canal and tunnel. "The practicability," he says, "of lifting the heaviest ships out of water with perfect safety, on cradles adjusted to receive them, is illustrated in every dock-yard in the country." We must go for this plan: it is an American plan.

The Powers had to say to the Sultan in stately diplomatic phrase, "If you don't depose the Khedive we shall!" The old Khedive has accordingly given place to Tewfik Pasha, his son, and the latter has taken the high seat. The big guns have been fired, and the new ruler has held his reception. Bad government and oppression of the fellahs are the chief part of the indictment under which the Khedive, Ismail Pasha, was condemned. The new Khedive will not be allowed to make treaties nor maintain an army if the Turk can help it. The old one, 'tis said, will retire with his luggage on a pension of £50,000 a year.

The President has signed the Army and Legislative Appropriation Bills, on the ground that their "riders" deprive the Executive of no real powers. He vetoed the Judicial Appropriation Bill because it had a provision intended to make inoperative certain laws which the majority were unable to repeal. You must, he says, in effect, either repeal a law or get a competent tribunal to decide against its validity. The

Democrats will now dismount their "rider" and send in the Judicial Appropriation Bill neat and clean. Their determination to do away with United States marshals and deputy marshals at the polls will be embodied in a separate bill to face the President with such cheek as it can.

Postmaster-General Key writes to Postmaster James at New York concerning third-class mail matter, and says: "The whole history of postal legislation in this country and abroad shows that any reduction in the rate of postage, or liberalizing of the postal regulations in the interest of the people is, always sure to result in an increased use of the mails by the people, and a consequent increase of the revenues of the Department; premising, of course, that the rate of postage should never be reduced below the actual cost of transportation, distribution, dispatch and protection. It is not believed that the Department does incur any loss in the transportation of mail matter at third-class rates; viz., 1 cent for each two ounces, and 8 cents per pound."

An *Atlantic* writer on "Public Balls in New York" comes to his work with a varied equipment. He says: "Sir Henry Maine, in his valuable work on Ancient Law, has pointed out that the great difference between ancient and modern society lies in the change from *status* to contract in all the relations of life. Status, as every law student knows, denotes those fixed relations, founded partly on custom and partly on law, of which primitive man is known to have been so absurdly fond. Marriage was, for instance, originally an instance of status, and so would doubtless continued, if it had not been discovered by the Legislature of Illinois, Connecticut and other States that it might just as well be a pure matter of bargain, to begin and terminate at the pleasure of the parties."

Judge Christian of Virginia has been discussing the matter of summoning negroes on juries, in reply to a petition of some colored men, in a way which shows that the Civil-Service Act cannot really be used to give negroes a right to be summoned without some serious straining of the law. To summon a man because he is a negro, Judge Christian has no difficulty in showing, is just as much a violation of the law as to leave a man out because he is a negro or to summon him because he is a white. The proceedings of Judge Rivers against five of the Virginia judges for not summoning negroes on juries were based on the presumption that when a judge habitually abstained from putting negroes on the pannel he did so on account of race and color, and in violation of the act. It has been pointed out that the Civil-Service Act is fatally defective in not directing the summoning of negroes on all State juries: if that is what was intended by the law.

A writer in *Scribner* for July, discoursing of "The American on the Stage," sets out with this generalization—it is, if anything, more complimentary to the play-goers than to the play-wrights: "If we cast a rapid glance over the stage of the United States, seeking to see what class of drama succeeds best and lasts longest, it is soon evident that a piece in which the most prominent feature is the exhibition of an American type has the greatest chance of gaining popular approval. It may be the American of fact, as our Southern friend Colonel Mulberry Sellers, or his Eastern relative, Judge Bardwell Slote, or it may be the American of legend, as the immortal *Rip Van Winkle* of our own Hudson, or the stalwart *Davy Crockett* of the West—for although Crockett was once an actual entity he is now no more than the immaterial excuse for an infinity of legend. Plays without this central and locally characteristic personage—plays of French or English or German, or even now and then of American authorship, may seem for a time to be the fashion; but they rarely wear as well as the cheaper and less artistic homespun. That the most of these American products are crude and unrefined, merely the raw material out of which a skillful artificer might make a symmetrical masterpiece, admits of no dispute. An apt epigram is afloat—scribed to Mr. Boucicault—to the effect that 'all that the Americans seem to recognize as dramatic here is the caricature of character, and that is what the successful plays are—caricature of eccentric character set in a weak dramatic framework.' This, like most epigrams, is a smart setting of a half truth. Americans recognize the character through the caricature, accepting the latter only for lack of the former. The want is want of art on the part of the authors, not want of appreciation on the part of audiences. When a strongly marked character is put before them, they will be only the more glad to receive it, if it is artistically developed and presented, and if the action in which it takes part is skillfully ordered. But in general, it is true, the work is not skillfully nor artistically done."

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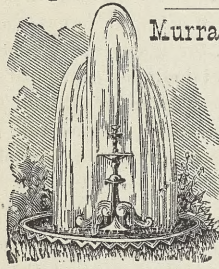
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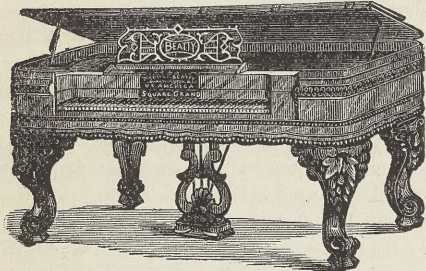
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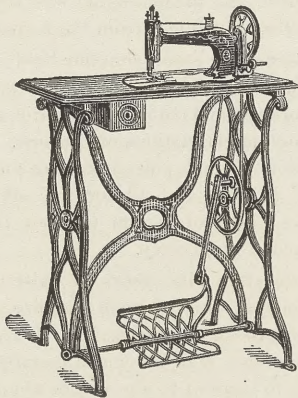
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